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OUR BILINGUALS--SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIERS, LINGUISTIC AND PEDAGOGICAL BARRIERS (2ND ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTHWEST COUNCIL OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHERS, EL PASO, NOVEMBER 13, 1965). REPORTS.

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A SERIES OF REPORTS SUBMITTED FOR THE 1965 CONFERENCE DEFINE THE VARIOUS SOCIOCULTURAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL, LINGUISTIC, AND PEDAGOGICAL BARRIERS TO ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AMONG SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN IN THE SOUTHWEST AND RECOMMEND IMPROVEMENTS TO BREAK DOWN THESE BARRIERS. INDIVIDUAL REPORTS DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF PRESERVING ETHNIC IDENTITY, INSTITUTING BILINGUAL AND SPECIAL PLACEMENT PROGRAMS, IMPROVING INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS, DEVELOPING MORE EFFICIENT TEACHING METHODS AND TECHNIQUES, AND IMPROVING TEACHER ATTITUDES AND QUALIFICATIONS. LISTS OF QUESTIONS SUGGESTED BY THESE REPORTS ARE INCLUDED FOR FUTURE STUDY. (SS)

SOUTHWEST COUNCIL of FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHERS

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

REPORTS

OUR BILINGUALS

Social and Psychological Barriers
Linguistic and Pedagogical Barriers

November 13, 1965
HILTON INN
El Paso, Texas

SOUTHWEST COUNCIL of FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHERS

2

REPORTS

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Contents

Board of Directors

Preface

The reports contained in this volume appear in order of presentation to be followed at the Conference. The views and conclusions expressed in them are those of the working committees. Participants and committee members will discuss the issues in response to questions and comments solicited from the audience.

Working Committee I

OUR BILINGUALS:
Social and Psychological Barriers

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Our Bilinguals: Social and Psychological Barriers

Here in the Southwest, when we speak of "our bilinguals," we do not simply refer to our citizens who speak two languages. We usually refer to a group of people who may be identified by the fact that they have Spanish surnames, speak Spanish, are of Mexican ancestry, and belong to the Roman Catholic Church. More important than these characteristics, however, and much more difficult to determine, is the extent and depth of the differences which separate the culture of this group from the dominant culture of the Southwest and of the United States. These cultural differences have created for many members of the group a strong ethnic identity which has resulted in the creation of barriers in their environment which are psychological — that is, imposed from within —as well as social, or imposed from without. These barriers have made it impossible for the group as a whole to attain the general educational, social, and economic level of the dominant social group. .And the unique problem which this situation presents results from the fact that it may be desirable to allow or even foster the preservation of their ethnic identity while at the same time destroying the barriers which prevent the group from having a more advantageous and meaningful position in our social system.

Not all bilinguals in the Southwest wish to preserve their ethnic identity; there is a growing number who have lost or are attempting to lose this identity, while retaining a Spanish surname, the Catholic religion, and, of course, the Mexican origin. Those Mexican-Americans who use Spanish rather than English whenever possible and who deliberately maintain their ethnic identity often refer to themselves as *chicanos,* and to those who are attempting to lose this identity and become identified with the dominant culture as *pochos.* They also identify a third group, the *pachucos,* who seem to reject the conventional values of both cultures and who, at least among themselves, speak an argot which is neither Spanish nor English. Our present concern is principally with the *chicano;* the *pachuco* presents a special problem in adolescent development and social control, and the *pocho* is probably confronted with fewer barriers in his environment than most other minority groups which have become or are becoming assimilated to the dominant culture.

It is the *chicano,* who resists assimilation, and though it be passive resistance it has been and continues to be effective. This resistance creates psychological and social barriers in his environment, but it does not usually develop before his first encounter with barriers which already exist. The usual first encounter with these barriers is in his introduction to the educational process, when the full weight of the realization that he speaks a "foreign" language falls upon him. It is when he discovers that those in authority do not speak his language that the first of a long series of difficult decisions must be made; if they are made in favor of his family and friends, he becomes a *chicano;* if in favor of the school system and the larger society, a *pocho;* and if the stresses involved in the decisions are too much for him, he may become a *pachuco.*

Whatever the nature and direction of these decisions, we might insist that the individual's self-concept be given as much weight as other factors commonly associated with ethnic differentiation. Nevertheless, two of these factors, language and place of residence, give a clue to the strength of the feeling of "mexicanidad" that exists.

The Spanish language must be preserved if a Mexican-American is to retain the strong family ties that are characteristic of the Mexicans. There are too many "abuelos y padres" and even "tíos y primos" who cannot, or do not wish to, converse in English. It would be difficult or impossible to find a single person who has "forgotten" his Spanish, or failed to learn it at all, who cherishes, or nurtures, or even ackowledges, his cultural heritage. "Si no habla español, no puede ser mexicano."

The extent to which Spanish is necessary in communication with family members is indicated by a study made in San Antonio last summer. Interviews with 600 Mexican-American adults showed that 71% of husbands and wives spoke *only* Spanish to each other and 2% spoke only English. Of grandparents, 94% spoke only Spanish to their children, and 89% spoke only Spanish to their grandchildren. Interviews of ninth grade Mexican-American students showed a greater use of English, but even among their families, 79% of their grandparents used only Spanish with them and 8% used only English; of their parents, 31% used only Spanish with them, and 16% used only English.

What no number of statistics such as these can reveal is the quality of relationships represented by interaction in Spanish. If these relationships have been highly rewarding, representing love, comfort, and security to the child, a sudden immersion in English at six years of age, especially in an environment which lacks the plasticity and warmth of human relationships found in the home, occuring at the same time that new demands of work and discipline are made, may create psychological barriers almost instantaneously which will not dissappear in a lifetime. The teacher may sense the presence of these barriers and may react by putting up barriers of his own, unconsciously attempting to compensate thereby for his sense of inadequacy in dealing with the child. The result may be that the Spanish language becomes a refuge into which the child retreats at every opportunity, and the Spanish speaking community a bastion of defense against the outside world.

The place of residence provides another indication of the degree of ethnic identity felt by the individual. One of the members of the present committee gives the following formula for finding a true *chicano:* First find a man with a Spanish name who speaks Spanish and who is Catholic. (The importance of religion will be covered later, but may be briefly outlined here: For the Mexican-American the Roman Catholic Church provides the rituals from baptism to the wake and feast days from Los Santos Reyes to Los Santos Inocentes, and while it may be possible for the customs and traditions of the Mexican culture to be preserved by non-Catholics, there still remains the apparent incongruity of a Baptist celebrating a "fiesta.") Follow him to his home. If the next door neighbors in all directions also have Spanish names, speak Spanish, and are Catholic, you are surrounded by "pura raza." And

the person who lives in this ethnic enclave by choice will be a Mexican-American even if he is a Methodist by the name of Jackson with no known relatives in Mexico.

Such formula emphasizes the homogeneity of the Mexican-American community, due both to the tendency of those who reject its values to get out of it, and to its own rejection of any values outside it. Some such communities have existed in New Mexico for centuries, but relatively new ones may be found in many areas of the Southwest, including the large cities. Changes in economic structures, patterns of leadership, and other influences have brought about and are bringing about modifications in the internal structure and the external relations of these communities but, as was pointed out in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (edited by Margaret Mead, 1960), the Spanish-speaking adults who maintain the traditions of the community today were the English-speaking youth who were going to change these traditions ten years before.

There is no doubt that many of these traditions run counter to the customs, practices, and even necessities of the technologically oriented urban culture which is now well established and is increasing in influence in the Southwest. And since our educational system is almost totally oriented toward the development and extension of this culture, it should not be surprising that it creates barriers in the environment of those who reject the validity of important elements of the dominant culture, nor that they in turn create barriers in the face of the encroachment of this culture where it seems likely to destroy their traditional values. However, it may be possible to modify, at least, both sets of barriers, with beneficial results on both sides. The Mexican-Americans may learn to participate more effectively in our urban technological culture, and this culture may lose some of the harshness and impersonality which too often characterize it.

The values of the *chicano* are above all human values. This is undoubtedly related to the fact that he so frenquently grows up in a large family which occupies a relatively small physical space. Statistics from the 1960 Texas census show, for example, that of families with a Spanish surname, 25% had seven members or more, in contrast with 4% of Anglo families, on the average, had approximately half the income of Anglo families. The combination of these factors means that they lived closer together, were more dependent on each other, and owned fewer things with which they might otherwise have been occupied. That the children, for example, were less likely to play individually with toys, and more likely to entertain each other; that the mother was probably more dependent on the children for help, and less on household appliances; and that outside demands on each family member were probably less important than the needs of the family. This might mean that a child would drop out of school to go to work in the case of any family emergency such as the illness of one of the parents, the disapproval of school officials being much less important to him than the welfare of his family. It might even mean the end of his formal education.

Large families and low family incomes seem to be one of the major factors in the high dropout rate among Spanish-speaking children,

especially in the first years of high school. Another factor is that our educational system seems to be firmly established upon the principle that we are to produce culturally homogeneous monolinguals; such a system, intended to provide a gateway for entrance into the larger social system, is itself an almost insurmountable barrier for a large proportion of our bilinguals. Whatever the cause, in Texas in 1960, among persons 25 years of age or over, 23% of those with Spanish surnames had no formal education, compared with 1% of Anglos and 5% of nonwhites. And 57% of this group had only an elementary school education, giving a total of 80% who had not gone beyond elementary school.

The Anglo places such a high value on individual success that often a family will sacrifice a great deal to send a child to school for as many years as possible, expecting nothing in turn from the child once he graduates; on the contrary, he is usually expected to spend all is resources in "bettering himself" so that he will represent by his success the success of the family. When the Spanish-speaking child, on the other hand, grows up to be an economic success, he is often expected not only to contribute to the welfare of his immediate family, but also that of his uncles, his cousins, and his aunts. This prevents him from using his resources to get a foothold on the next rung of the ladder of success, so that before he gains much personal advantage from his fortune he has a wife and half a dozen children of his own, and the process begins again.

Even those individuals who wish to escape this process and turn *pocho* often find it difficult to do so. It has been reported by social scientists that Puerto Ricans, who seem to have absorbed a great deal of the individualistic success psychology of the United States, find that the only way they can escape their responsibilities to numerous relatives is to come to the United States to work and send the pay check home to the wife who, being a kind of widow with a family to care for, is not expected to share with other relatives. But it would probably never occur to the *chicano* to devise such a stratagem, because of his feeling that his and his relatives' interests are one and the same.

The *chicano* not only resists the individualistic psychology which would separate him from his family and his community; he resists the quantification of life in terms of money or of time. This is not to say that he will not work long hours, nor that he is not interested in money, but that steady work for an indefinite period of time for a steadily increasing salary does not have the same meaning for him that it has for most Anglos. If he is to remain in his own community, near his parents, brothers, sisters, and other relatives, and have a large family of his own, he does not expect, and probably does not desire, the type of personal triumph which is the standard objective of the Anglo — and which always seems to be in the future, no matter how much has been accomplished — but contents himself with using all his resources, and not simply his money, to enjoy the moment in which he is living.

It almost goes without saying that when we point to a person of Mexican ancestry who has achieved the type of success which most Anglos think desirable, we almost invariably point to a *pocho*. This group is growing; for example, there were in 1960 over twice as many persons with Spanish surnames with 1-4 years of college as there were

in 1950. However, this still amounted to only 4.2% of the Spanish surname population, where 8.4% of the nonwhites and 21.2% of the Anglos had 1-4 years of college. From the point of view of most of those with Spanish surnames who have become well-educated and and successful, the Spanish language and associated cultural patterns have been the major barriers which they have had to overcome, and since they have had to so they are often more impatient than anyone else with those who, as they see it, cling obstinately to a language and culture of poverty and deprivation. And if Anglo school administrators consult with these successful Mexican-Americans about barriers to educational attainment, they will almost certainly be advised that the greatest barrier to overcome is the use of the Spanish language. And this of course, is what most of them want to hear; they have heard enough of a language they do not understand. However, if a much greater proportion of the Anglos were to learn Spanish than now know it, their own attitudes might change, not only toward the language but also toward those who use it. And almost certainly the attitude of the *chicano* toward the Anglo would change, and many of the psychological barriers which keep him from full participation in Anglo society would be broken down.

The most important aspect of the consideration of the barriers in the environment of the bilingual is to remember that there are two sides to each barrier, and that their disappearance would allow an amalgamation of two cultures as well as the assimilation of one to the other, and that such an amalgamation might both symbolize and facilitate a greater union of forces in this hemisphere — a union which could prove of incalculable value to two distinct and in many ways complementary cultures. There is much less opportunity for misunderstanding when good neighbors speak each others' language.

Phase I

Some suggested questions for discussion. *

1. Should Spanish speaking families be encouraged to move to mixed or anglo neighborhoods so that the children will have some English speaking playmates? Can federal, state, or municipal funds be used for this purpose?

2. How can financial help for poor families whose children, without help, would be forced to leave school best be obtained? War on Poverty?

3. Should transfers for chicanos from predominantly Spanish speaking schools be made easier? Bussings?

4. To what extent can churches help to overcome psychological and social barriers? Should churches help to discourage early marriages which result in dropouts?

5. To what extent should we be concerned over the tendency to exploit the Mexican-American for political purposes. i. e. delivering the "Mexican vote" as a bloc?

6. Should the PTA and other agencies encourage parents who know some English to use it with their children part of the time?

7. How successful has Project Headstart (pre-chool summer session teaching basic English) been? Should such programs be expanded?

8. What can be done, or has been done, to help chicano students take pride in their cultural heritage and to realize the advantages of knowing *two* cultures and languages?

9. Should especially chosen teachers who have a knowledge of Mexican culture and psychology be assigned to chicano schools?

10. Should classes for chicano pupils be smaller than average so that the teachers can give more individual attention to each pupil? Could federal funds be obtained for such a purpose?

11. What can be done to encourage the chicano to think and plan more for the future, without losing his happiness in the present?

* Suggestions made by a committee appointed by Board of Directors.

Working Committee II

OUR BILINGUALS:
Linguistic and Pedagogical Barriers

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NOTE: We are reproducing the separate reports received from all members.

Our Bilinguals: Linguistic and Pedagogical Barriers

ROBERT LADO

Georgetown University, I.L.L.

I. Bilinguals in this report refers to Spanish-speaking children in the Southwest.

II. The panelists agree that the following are fundamental barriers to effective learning on the part of the bilingual children at present:

1. English, the language of instruction, is "no less a foreign language to him than it would be to a child from Argentina or Colombia."
   a. This problem is intensified by the bilingual's feeling that he belongs in the United States, as he is, attached through family tradition to his native language and culture. His problem is different from that of bilingual children in the immigrant centers of the industrial Northeast and the West who have come to the United States with the intention of becoming fully absorbed in the English-speaking milieu.
   b. The problem goes deep because the bilingual child faces a different set of social cultural patterns as well as a different language.
   c. Particularly negative and undesirable is the rule in classrooms and playgrounds that forbids the use of Spanish by the bilingual children. The panelists suspect that this rule actually works against its own purpose by building up in the bilingual a feeling of hostility toward English and those who speak it.
   d. To continue to ignore this problem and to proceed with literacy in English as if the pupils knew the language natively will result in double illiteracy, i. e., "persons deficient in spoken Engish and in written Spanish."
2. Given the fact of the language and cultural barriers that the bilingual faces on entering school, the greatest problem is the lack of a bilingual educational program that will help the child develop competency, maturity, literacy, and power in the Spanish languge for his normal growth and development, at the same time that it helps him master English as a second language until he can become effective and competitive in this language as well.
   a. In the absence of a bilingual program that permits normal development of the bilingual child, he acquires a low self image which will result in lack of motivation and unsatisfactory performance.
   b. Also as a result of the absence of a bilingual program and the consequent forcing of the child to perform through a foreign langauge which he has not mastered, there develops a low expectation of learning capacity by the children themselves, their parents, and teachers and administrators. The child who must operate through a second language which he has not masterd will show lower IQ, a weaker memory,

and eventually will be convinced that he has low learning capacity.

c. The panelists point out that this is an educational matter which is squarely within the responsibility of the schools alone.

3. It is obviuos also that a large proportion of bilinguals are socially disadvantaged like other groups in the United States who are not bilinguals. The panelists strongly point out that this disadvantage results in poor performance not because they are bilinguals, not because they speak Spanish, not because they have a Mexican or other Hispanic cultural family tradition. Research by Lambert and associates shows that bilinguals who have adequate social background can perform better than monolinguals. Rural and slum schools, on the other hand, have failed to compensate for the social disadvantage of their pupils and thus their IQ's steadily decline as they remain in school.

   Studies also show that low reading ability goes with low socio-economic background in the family. Thus, the bilingual child will have low reading performance, with all that this implies in study effectiveness, not because he is a bilingual, but because of his low socio-economic background.

III. The panel proposes the following means of improving the education of our bilinguals and their development into a regional and national human resource of great value to our nation.

1. The development of a rational vigorous, effective, bilingual educational program from the first thorugh the sixth grade. For details on the components of such a program see the papers themselves and the references provided.
2. To insure that Spanish will be taught at an effective level for the development of the bilinguals, some of the school subjects should be taught in Spanish from the beginning.
3. English should be taught as a second or foreign language and Spanish should be taught as the native language through the provision of "immense amounts of meaninful practice" in listening and speaking. This practice is now feasible through the use of pattern practice in teaching as opposed to the older grammar translation, rote memorization of rules, and mere talk about common errors.
4. The children should be taught literacy in Spanish first.
5. The standard form of the language (Spanish and/or English) is taught as another dialect which is appropriate for school, community, and other uses while the student's own dialect is equally appropriate for use with his intimate friends and in the family circle.
6. The imaginative recommendation is made that bilinguals be put in personal contact with good human models in their own cultural tradition. This is intended to provide a positive stimulation for raising of the bilingual's self image, and with it his motivation and ambition to improve through study and effort.
7. The equally imaginative recommendation is made that the fine Mexican-American family system be used to establish closer

collaboration between the school and the home through the Spanish language.

8. It is obvious that especially trained and sympathetic teachers are needed for the effective implementation of a bilingual program. Bilingual teachers who reject their Hispanic traditions and language, or those who go to the other extreme and overcompensate in their defense should be enlightened to the values of bilingualism. Monolingual English speakers who cannot understand the values of the Hispanic background of the pupils should also be enlightened and trained for their task.
9. NDEA institutes should be organized to provide special training for teachers in bilingual schools. Such teachers should know Spanish effectively; they should know Applied Linguistics so that they may understand and interpret the particular linguistic problems that the pupils have through interference between their two languages, and understand normal dialect variations observable in both Spanish and English; and they should understand the values of both the Anglo-American tradition and the Latin American cultural background.
10. Special materials are needed both to teach Spanish and English to these pupils, and to teach subjects in Spanish and in English. A variety of materials will be needed to meet the different situations that are encountered.

The panel directs attention to the appendix in Dr. Gaarder's paper for information on sources for the possible assistance to action programs.

Our Bilinguals: Linguisitic and Pedagogical Barriers

by A. Bruce Gaarder

Specialist in Foreign Languages, U. S. Office of Education *

What are the linguistic barriers to scholastic achievement by Spanish-speaking children of the American Southwest in any or all areas of the school curriculum, including, most particularly, the English language?

Nothing should be said in answer to this question until a much more basic point has been made: linguistic, pedagogical, psychological and social barriers — or to use a more neutral term, factors, combine and function in complicated interrelationships to slow and lessen the scholastic achievement of the Spanish-speaking child. The linear nature of language makes possible — even necessitates — a one-by-one discussion of these factors; it does not lessen the fact of their perhaps inextricable entanglement in reality. We can isolate the linguistic component in print and talk, but in reality it is inseparable from the others.

We prefer to begin the discussion by stating our conclusion: Unquestionably, in the view of these writers, the single greatest *linguistic* barrier to achievement is the lack of strong, school-based, community-wide educational programs leading to vigorous, curriculum-wide literacy and general competency in the Spanish language. The lack of such programs is in turn fundamental to the removal of an even greater barrier: the Spanish-speaking children's relatively low self-concept, and the concomitant low expectation as to their learning capacity held by the children themselves, their parents, and by the teachers and administrators in charge of their education. The view espoused here is that, all things considered, vigorous, curriculum-wide literacy and general competency in Spanish is the key, the sine qua non to raising that level of expectation — even establishing a high level of demand. Furthermore, *of all the barriers to scholastic achievement, this is the one for which the schools have been responsible and which the schools alone can remove.*

Let us now start somewhat closer to the beginning and narrow the focus of the discussion to the widely-held fallacy that the mere fact of their being speakers of two languages, their bilingualism, somehow "causes" their low achievement in school. That matter was treated at some length by the McGill University psychologists Wallace Lambert and Elizabeth Anisfeld in the 1965 Northeast Conference report, "The Challenge of Bilingualism," and the corresponding "key proposition" of the report was as follows:

> Bilingualism per se has not been shown to produce an intellectual handicap. If such a handicap exists in some bilinguals, its cause must be sought in such factors as the measuring instrument used, socio-economic conditions, attitudes toward the two languages, and educational policy regarding the two languages. [1]

* This article was written by Dr. A. Bruce Gaarder in his private capacity. No official support or endorsement by the U. S. Office of Education is intended or should be inferred.

The Spanish-speaking child, the Mexican-American, is commonly "socially disadvantaged" quite apart from the fact that he speaks two languages. He has his counter part all over the nation in groups which speak English as their sole and native language. We are distressed to learn how few Spanish speakers finish high school, how few go to college. However, the unreasonableness of blaming the Spanish language for these distressing facts may be deduced from the following statement by the Panel on Educational Research and Development in its official report to the U. S. Commissioner of Education, the Director of the National Science Foundation, and the Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology:

> By all known criteria, the majority of urban and rural slum schools are failures. In neighborhood after neighborhood across the country, more than half of each age group fails to complete high school, and 5 percent or fewer go on to some form of higher education. In many schools the average measured IQ is under 85, and it drops steadily as the children grow older. [2]

Furthermore, on the specific point of reading ability, the research of Milner and others has demonstrated that "high reading ability in Grade I children is related to "higher" family social status; and conversely, that low reading ability in Grade I children is related to "lower" family social status." [3]

Therefore, although it certainly is fair to say that the Mexican-American child's achievement is greatly hampered by his lack of skill with English, the finger of "blame" should never be pointed at the mother tongue, Spanish. Rather than viewing his Spanish speech as a handicap, it should be seen as an immense potential for scholastic overachievement. [4] Equally important, it can be a means of revealing to the Mexican-American child, through an awareness of the vigorous, dynamic culture of Mexico, exemplary models for emulation and a vision of all that the child might be and become.

What can and what should the schools do? This brings us to the second focus of attention of the discussion: pedagogical barriers to scholastic achievement. First and foremost they can establish programs of bilingual education for their bilingual children. Such programs have already been described in general terms in other published discussions of this problem and the descriptions need not be repeated here. [5]

The following discussion of teaching methods for both English and Spanish assumes that the reader is familiar with these published articles and their recommendations regarding the qualifications of teachers, the teaching materials to be used, and the general approach to the education of bilinguals. [6]

A complete program of bilingual education beginning in the first grade or kindergarten would, theoretically, obviate the need for later remedial language instruction. Meanwhile, what are the pedagogical barriers to achievement in English (and Spanish) under present conditions? They can be listed by inference from the following brief statements of what should be done:

1. For those Spanish-speaking children who have or may be expected to have special difficulty with English, English should be taught as a second language, and Spanish should be taught as a mother tongue or native language. The implications of this statement are, to be sure, upsetting.
2. Both languages should be learned though the acquisition of deeply ingrained speech habits resulting from immense amounts of *meaningful* practice.
3. Speech and listening are the primary skills. Lasting, functional improvement in reading and writing must be based on corresponding levels of habitual listening and speaking. By skillful teaching, any one of the four skills can reinforce all of the others.
4. For both languages the chief way to assure meaningful practice will always be to use each as a medium of instruction, rather than to have it studied as an end in itself.
5. Recent research on the teaching of standard English and standard French to native speakers of other dialects of these languages points the way to a methodology for upgrading both the English and the Spanish of Mexican-Americans. This method — long familiar to but seldom used properly by foreign language teachers — calls for extensive listening discrimination practice and extensive oral pattern practice utlizing magnetic tape recordings. The importance of listening discrimination practice, i. e., drill on the auditory perception of sounds, cannot be overemphasized: the learner cannot produce a sound which he cannot perceive.
   Another way of stating the case for pattern practice is by comparing this method with the usual "remedial" work offered in schools. The usual method is to call attention to the student's or the group's "most common errors," state as rules what the "correct" pronunciations, forms, spellings, etc., should be, and then assign written oral "compositions" to see whether the rules can be applied. At best, this method achieves a degree of passive, non-functional intellectual mastery of the material. In contrast with this and in addition to it, the pattern practice method seeks to develop habitual physical control of the material.
6. The remedial approach through a listing and concentration on the student's "most common errors" has a further limitation. It is applicable only in those cases where the student's *speech* (not writing) is already a close approximation to the standard form of the language: a few dozen unacceptable anglicisms *(groserías* instead of *abarrotes);* a few archaisms (e. g., *naiden);* a few transpositions such as *estógamo;* a small number of classes of morphological variation such as *tú fuites;* probably a vast void of ignorance of the Spanish word and the resulting use of English unalloyed. But if the approximation to standard is not close, if the difference involves syntax (rather than mere lexicon, which is relatively unimportant as a teaching problem) it is no longer a case of remedying the most common errors; a new dialect must be learned.
   Two reasons favor regarding the standard form of the language (whether Spanish or English) as a different dialect:
   a) *Psychological.* Thinking in terms of two different dialects ob-

viates the likelihood of describing the new as "correct," the old as "incorrect." It places less strain on the student since he is not asked to replace the old with the new, but rather to learn to switch back and forth from one to the other.

b) *Pedagogical.* As Lin says, "The interference between two closely related dialects — such as a nonstandard dialect and standard English — is far greater than between two completely different languages, and the socially significant differences between the standard and nonstandard forms may be overshadowed by the similarities and fail to present a real challenge to the students." [8] From this it follows that thinking of the two as different dialects and approaching the standard form as a problem of developing entirely new habits of speech and listening will help to keep the two apart.

In addition to the above, there is a great need (which, unfulfilled, constitutes a barrier to learning) for models, superb models to be emulated. Foreign language teachers speak often of the need to supply authentic models of the new language. There is an even greater need in the schools of our American Southwest for human models, beautiful, vigorous, dynamic, highly cultured exemplars of what the Mexican child might be: teachers and other persons who in many and varied ways — as athletes, artists, writers, scientists, statemen, heroes — can give the child a many-splendored vision of what he too might and must become. The barrier of low expectation noted above results in some measure at least from "model deprivation." This deprivation is in no way a reflection on the adult Mexican-American. Rather it is the inevitable result of a constant increment of immigrants who have virtually never counted among their number the exemplary types noted above. Human models, exemplars, can come from anywhere, but for the Mexican-American child some of them must come from Mexico, a nation currently exhibiting dynamic creativity and human excellence in many extraordinary ways. [9]

In summary of this short paper, the greatest barrier to the Mexican-American child's scholastic achievement — a socio-pedagogico-linguistic barrier — is that the schools, reflecting the dominant view of the dominant culture, want that child to grow up as another Anglo. This he cannot do except by denying himself and his family and his forbears, a form of masochism which no society should demand of its children.

Teachers of the Mexican-American child (and this includes many native speakers of Spanish who are but weak echoes of the dominant Anglos) want him to grow up in their own image. They blame his language, they blame his religion, they blame his home. On this last point Neimeyer has stated the case very well:

> . . . too many of our elementary schools, and too many educators in general, believe that it is precisely because of home background that the school cannot help these children achieve a desirable level of learning . . . Hence, the argument goes, we must change the homes, or at least compensate for the home-neighborhood background, before genuine learning can take place in school. [10]

Rather than blame the parents and by-pass the home, the schools should

utilize every means possible to strengthen the interrelation of the home and the school, build on the widely-extolled excellences of the Mexican-American family system, and raise the child's self-expectations by expecting more of him and giving him noble models of his own kind to emulate.

This brings us again to the conclusion. There can be no close relationship between home and school without the Spanish language. Except through Spanish there is no solution as long as immigration continues. The present practice of exerting social pressures sufficient to cut individuals, one by one, and families, here and there, away from the group only aggravates the problem by eliminating potential group leaders. So we end our side of the discussion by quoting a proposed national policy for the education of school children who retain control — even if it is only passive control — of a language other than English.

> In the best interest of the child and in the national interest such a child should be made strongly and effectively literate in both English and the other language.
>
> To do this, the schools should provide at all grade levels a strong English language instructional program — incorporating when appropriate the special techniques of teaching English as a second language — and the opportunity for a daily instruction in and through the non-English tongue to reinforce all other areas of the curriculum. [11]

1 Gaarder, A. B. et al., "The Challenge of Bilingualism," p. 94, in *Foreign Language Teaching: Challenges to the Profession,* reports of the Working Comittees, Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 1965, G. Reginald Bishop, Jr., Editor. Available from the Materials Center, Modern Language Association, 4 Washington Place, New York, N. Y. 10003.

2 Innovation and Experiment in Education. A Progress report of the Panel on Educati l Research and Development, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964.

3 Milner, E. "A Study of the Relationship Between Reading Readiness in Grade One School Children and Patterns of Parent-Child Interactions," in *Child Development* 22: 95-112, 1951.
Also see Mildred C. Templin, "Relatio. of speech and language development to intelligence and socio-economic status," in *The Volta Review,* Vol. 60, No. 7, Sept. 1958, pp. 331-334. Templin points out that the standardization data of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Tests finds that children whose fathers are engaged in the professions have a mean IQ somewhat above 100, and the children of day laborers have a mean IQ somewhat under 100. Templin studied the language performance of 480 children, aged 3 to 8, selected to form a representative sample according to their fathers' socio-economic status . . . consistent differences in the performance of the upper and lower socio-economic status groups were found. The upper group received higher scores quite consistently at each age level for all language measures.

4 Until the point is finally made, it seems necessary to refer constantly to the Lambert-Peal study which has shown that if the bilingualism is "balanced," i. e., if there has been equal, normal, literacy developed in the two languages, bilingual children may be found to be markedly superior to monolinguals on both verbal and non-verbal tests of intelligence. This was their finding with bilingual ten-year-olds in Montreal.
Lambert, Wallace, and Elizabeth Peal, "The relation of bilingualism to intelligence" in *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied,* No. 546, Vol. 76, No. 27, 1962, American Psychological Association, 1333 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

5 Gaarder, op. cit. pp. 76-86
------, "Teaching the Bilingual Child: Research, Development, and Policy, in *The Modern Language Journal,* Vol. XLIX, No. 3, March 1965, pp 165-175.

6 Already Texas has at least two bilingual education projects underway which can serve as models: the bilingual pre-school for 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds at the Good Samaritan Center in San Antonio, directed by Mrs. Constance Swander and Mrs. Robert Blankenship; and the bilingual public school program in the United Consolidated Independent School District of Laredo, directed by Superintendent Harold Brantley.

7 The three most useful studies are these:
Brault, Gerard J. et al., *Cours de langue francaise destiné aux jeunes Franco-Américans.* For teachers there are two volumes: *Manual for Franco-Americans* (61 pp. mimeo) both with tape recordings. For further information on this work adress Dr. Brault at the Department of Romance Languages, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa.
Golden, Ruth I., *Effectiveness of Insructional Tapes for Changing Regional Speech Patterns,* Detroit: Detorit Public Schools, 1962.
Lin, San-su C., *Pattern Practice in the Teaching of Standard English to Students with a Non-Standard Dialect,* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965.

8 Op. cit., p. 8

9 Some suggestions for meeting this need can be found in the Appendix to this paper.

10 Neimeyer, John H., "Home-School Interaction in Relation to Learning in the Elementary School," in *The School Dropout,* Daniel Schreiber, ed., Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., 1964, p. 120.

11 Gaarder, A. Bruce, "Conserving our Linguistic Resources," in *PMLA,* Publications of The Modern Language Association of America, Vol. LXXX, No. 2, May 1965, p. 23.

Appendix

Sources of Financial Support for Language Development Programs, including Programs of Bilingual Education for Bilingual Children

There are in the U. S. Office of Education at least four different possible sources of Federal financial assistance for programs and projects, in schools and colleges, designed to improve the educational opportunties of bilingual children or to further foreign language development in other ways. For lack of space the information here given does not include a complete statement of all of the criteria that must be met by applicants for this assistance. It should be borne in mind too that the suggested models given here would probably be eligible for consideration if properly presented in formal proposals or applications, but that there is no implication that such proposals would necessarily be approved, nor should it be inferred that the agencies referred to are seeking or wish to support projects of this kind.

THE AGENCIES

1. The Cooperative Research Program (CRP), an extramural program of the Office of Education, receives proposals from and makes grants to universities, colleges and other public or private agencies, institutions, and organizations and to individuals, for research surveys, and demonstrations in the field of education. There are also, in some cases, contracts and jointly financed cooperative arrangements. In broad terms, the purposes of the program are to develop new knowledge about major educational problems, and to devise new applications of existing knowledge for solving problems.

Application forms and further information on the Cooperative Research Program may be secured from the U. S. Office of Education in Washington, D. C.

2. A special foreign language research program is authorized under Section 602, Title VI, of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA-VI). Under this authority the U. S. Commissioner of Education may contract with organizations (including schools, colleges, and universities) and individuals to perform surveys, studies, research and experimentation, the preparation of teaching materials, etc., in support of the improvement of modern foreign language teaching and learning. Application forms and further information may be secured by addressing the Language Research Section, U. S. Office of Education.

3. Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA III) authorizes grants to local or intermediate public school agencies to support programs of supplementary educational centers and services. Two kinds of projects are authorized: the provisions of vitally needed educational services not otherwise availabe in sufficient quantity or quality, and the development and operation of exemplary educational programs to serve as models to be emulated by regular elementary and secondary schools. Projects supported under ESEA Title III must provide for participation by pupils in non-profit private schools in the area. Applications to the U. S. Commissioner of Educa-

tion for assistance under ESEA Title III may be made only by local and intermediate public educational agencies (with the latter term understood to include in most cases the public lab schools of public universities) but persons broadly representative of the other cultural resources of the community must be involved in the planning and operation of the projects. Grants under ESEA Title III cover all expenses of approved projects, including personnel, materials, equipment, and — when necessary — construction. Applications may be made for support of the planning of a project, for support of a pilot project, or for support of the operation of a project which is beyond the planning and experimental stages. Application forms and instructions may be secured from State departments of education.

4. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA-I) provides for financial assistance to local public educational agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families, for the purpose of expanding and inmproving their educational programs in ways which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children, both in the public and in the non-profit private schools. Applications for assistance under ESEA Title I are made to the State department of education by local educational agencies only. Forms and instructions may be secured from State departments of education.

SUGGESTED SERVICES, ACTIVITIES, PROJECTS AND PROGRAMS

The determination as to which one or which combination of the four agencies listed above would be the most appropriate sponsor for any on of the models described below can be made only after a thorough examination of a specific proposal. In any case it is well to seek guidance from the sponsoring agency and submit proposals first in tentative draft form.

1. Development, trial use, or demonstration of self-instructional materials designed specifically — for example —to teach monolingual beginners; to teach Spanish speakers another related language such as Italian or French; to teach standard English or Spanish to speakers of nonstandard dialects, etc.

2. Supplying models to selected Mexican-American high school students and their parents by establishment of cultural mission programs staffed by exemplary persons from Mexico and featuring intensive language training, through participation in drama, music, reading and sports.

3. Establishment of complete curriculum-wide literacy programs in the mother tongue of bilingual children. These might vary widely as to beginning level, number of grade levels started simultaneously, amount of time devoted to instruction in and through the mother tongue, etc.

4. Development of specialized materials for teaching the mother tongue. Ordinarily these might be secured — and used without adaptation — from, for example, Puerto Rico, but in at least three cases there is need of special work:

a) pattern drills to move from a non-standard to a standard dialect;

b) re-sequencing and in some cases adapting materials of foreign origin to correspond more closely to the sequence and content of the English language courses;
c) special introductory listening and speaking practice materials for the mother tongue of children who retain no skill other than minimum aural comprehension.

5. Bilingual education programs for both bilingual children and their monolingual fellow students. These would vary widely depending on the relative proportions of English mother tongue pupils and non-English mother tongue pupils. At one extreme would be the complete bilingual school system such as the Laredo project noted above; at the other extreme only at the 11th or 12th grade level would the very best monolingual students of Spanish be allowed to enroll in the ordinarily separate Spanish language classes coducted as the native speaker track.

6. Teacher training and refresher courses. Teachers who do not have native or virtually native knowledge of the language should be used in these programs. Even with native speaking ability most are far from scholarly proficiency and almost none will have curriculum-wide literacy. Special institutes for this purpose could be established in Mexico under Title XI of the National Defense Education Act. Inservice training to the same end could be supported, under certain conditions, through ESEA I and III (and under NDEA Title III).

7. Fourth-, fifth- or sixth-level content courses taught entirely through the medium of the foreign language (World History or Geography, for examples) could be organized to be offered in place of or as alternatives to the customary advanced level terminal language courses. Here too certain specialized transitional materials are probably needed to introduce these courses, and the teacher must be given the experience of having learned (or reviewed) through the FL the content course they are to teach in that FL.

8. In those schools, both elementary and secondary, where complete programs of study through Spanish cannot be established for the benefit of the Spanish speaking pupils, there is need at least for a different way of teaching Spanish in the regular courses. The production of specialized materials for teaching native speakers could be supported by Federal funds.

Our Bilinguals: Linguisitic and Pedagogical Barriers

The following papers were written in response to this questionnaire

1. We are limiting the term "our bilinguals" to the Spanish speaking people in our Southwest. List what you consider the major linguistic barriers of our bilinguals as defined above.

2. We would like to limit our discussion of "their linguistic barriers" to the school situation, i. e. K-12. Within this framework, comment specifically on the following:
   a. To what extent is the child handicapped linguistically by the home upon entering school and as long as he remains there? Consider "entering school" anywhere from K-12.
   b. What specific language problems the child encounters while he remains in school.

3. Comment on these points specifically:
   a. School policies on:
      1. The criteria employed in placing our bilinguals
      2. School regulations affecting the conduct, attitude(s), response and reaction(s) of our bilinguals and how these are reflected linguistically.
   b. Adequacy of instructional material
      1. To what extent have our bilinguals been deprived by lack of available adequate instructional material?
      2. To what extent has this become an alibi used to minimize our indifference to the plight of our bilinguals?
   c. Pinpoint desirable qualities in a teacher of bilinguals
   d. Pinpoint the factors in the teachers that result in their failure to meet the linguistic needs of our bilinguals.
   e. Other:

4. To what extent do school associations determine the linguistic develp-development of our bilinguals? Consider the following:
   a. Linguistic pressures he encounters from his peers, family, teachers, counselors, school administrators, and his contacts with society in general
   b. The self image of our bilinguals in his contact with others outside his ethnic group in school related activities.

5. List your recomendations on any and all of the above.

6. Feel free to elaborate further on linguistic barriers you consider essential which would strengthen the discussion of this topic.

Our Bilinguals: Linguisitic and Pedagogical Barriers

by JOHN M. SHARP

Most El Paso school teachers would enthusiastically agree that the single greatest problem faced by eductors in this area is that of adequately schooling the bilingual child. In the Southwest, the bilingual child presents problems only superficially analogous to those posed by bilingual school chidren in the immigrant centers of the great cities of the industrial Northeast and the West Coast. Unlike the latter, he is not, as a rule, the son of immigrants: his family lived in what is now the United States long before the settling of the Southwest by English-speaking people. Unlike the immigrant from Europe, he is by no means willing to abandon his ancient cultural and linguistic heritage, in which he takes — however inarticulately — traditional pride, to acccept the cultural pattern common to native speakers of English in our nation. His position may, perhaps, be compared to that of the Greeks in Sicily, who, though citizens of a Latin-speaking area, have maintained their language and *mores* for some twenty three centuries!

If the Southwestern bilingual is a problem to his educators, he is conversely, no less a national resource of incalculable value. As an American citizen living in close cultural contact with Mexico, he is in a unique position to interpret for the Anglo-American the thinking and values of the Latin-speaking half of our continent; and he can (and does!) present effectively to our southern neighbors a sympathetic view of our progressive and free society. The rich Hispanic inheritance of the Southwestern Latin, moreover, imparts a healthy cultural variety to U. S. culture as a whole. It is interesting to note, by the way, that this influence is no longer restricted to the Southwest, but is making itself strongly felt in the upper Midwest — Illinois, Wisconsin, etc. — into which Southwestern Latins have been moving in increasing numbers during the past decade.

Unfortunately, the bilingual child of Latin American background is burdened by serious handicaps upon entering school, handicaps that lessen the effectiveness of his education and, hence, the contribution that he can make to the total culture of the United States. In the first place, he is more often than not far from being a bilingual at the time he enters first grade. In many cases, his parents speak little or no English, and his first real contact with the English language occurs when he begins school. English is no less a foreign language to him than it would be to a child from Argentina or Colombia! He suddenly finds himself not only with the pressing need to master an (to him) alien tongue, but, also at the same time, to make immediate use of it in order to function as a pupil! His parents, to whom he has always looked for protection and aid, can be of no help at all to him in his perplexity. Moreover, as a result of cultural and economic differences between the English-speaking and Spanish-speaking segments of his community, many of the objects, social relationships and cultural attitudes presented to him in his lessons, though perfectly familiar to an Anglo youngster, lie without the Latin American's home experience. Accordingly, the problem of learning English is, for him, enormously increased by his

unfamiliarity with what objects and situations the no less unfamiliar words and phrases stand for.

The Latin American child's peer group is, if anything, even less helpful to him in his language problem than is his home. Forbidden to speak Spanish at school, he, of course, with relief returns to his home tongue once has been released from his teachers' confining discipline. He speaks Spanish with his playmates. But it is an impoverished Spanish, a language which has been culturally "beheaded" by its forced separation from its own literary heritage. Basic vocabulary, having to do with the home, everyday objects, common human relationships, etc., is on the whole, fairly "standard Spanish"; but terms designating objects, customs and relationhips introduced by the dominant English-speaking majority tend to be loan-words or, at any rate, non-standard Spanish. (Interestingly enough, in this situation, the basic structure of the language, however, has steadfastly resisted invasion.)

While Southwestern cities are laudably free of enforced segregation of ethnic minorities, cultural and economic factors do result in considerable *de facto* segregation. Large sections of El Paso, Tucson, and other Southwestern cities are almost exclusively occupied by Latin Americans. As a result, many grade schools are attended almost entirely by Spanish-speaking children. In these schools —with rare exceptions — the same texts and curricula are in use as in schools in which the majority of pupils are native-speakers of English. The three R's are taught in English from the first grade up, and *no classes specifically with English as a foreign language are offered!* Operating under such unrealistic conditions (which appear to have been devised by people who seemed to believe that if they paid no attention to the problem it would go away!), conscientious teachers and administrators have done the best they could for their students: subject matter is watered down and used as a means to teach Engilsh. During the two or three years of primary school while the pupil is acquiring a minimal knowledge of English, he falls seriously behind his English-speaking contemporaries in other sections of the community. This loss in subject-knowledge is seldom made up by the time he enters high school, where he finds himself unable to compete scholastically with his Anglo-American school mates.

Spanish-speaking youngsters attending grade schools in which they are a minority face another set of problems. They are expected to keep up with their English-speaking fellows without even the benefit of the slowed pace that prevails in schools in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas. This, of course, is simply asking the impossible of these children, and many of them, understandably enough, just give up!

The summer preschool instruction in English offered Spanish-speaking children is a step in the right direction in that it does recognize the problem and does attempt to meet it in a realistic way; but it is not, of course enough. It is quite obvious to anyone who has ever taught a foreign language that one summer is hardly enough to prepare children even minimally to carry on normal school work entirely conducted in a language other than their own. The preschool English

instruction is, moreover, optional, and many children do not take advantage of it.

A number of highly irrational school policies, prevalent throughout the Southwest, seriously obstruct the educational and linguistic progress of the Spanish-speaking pupil. The absolute prohibition of the use of Spanish in the classroom or on the school grounds is one such obstruction. A teacher facing a class of Spanish-speaking youngsters is forbidden to use an occasional word of Spanish to clarify or reinforce instruction, even when it is perfectly clear thaht the point being made is not "getting across" in English. (It should be noted here, to the credit of teachers, that conscientious instructors freqeuntly violate this prohibition!) As for the playground rule, it may well be suspected that this stricture against the use of Spanish actually works against its own purpose by building up in the Latin American a feeling of hostility toward English and toward those who speak it.

Too early emphasis on reading and writing English in grade schools in which Latin American pupils are a large majority often places the teacher in the position of teaching her charges to spell words the meaning of which is only vaguely, if at all, known to them. Spanish classes, on the other hand, are frequently taught in such schools on the basis of school texts published for English-speaking students. Native-speakers of Spanish are forced laboriously through gender and conjugation drills (things in which they would hardly make errors in spoken Spanish!) instead of being taught to read and write their own language as native-speakers of it! As result, "double illiterates" are produced: persons difficient in spoken English and in written Spanish!

As has already been observed, instructional material generally in use in Southwestern grade schools predominantly attended by Latin American children is designed primarily for Anglo-American pupils, on whose vocabulary and social pattern it is based. Not only is the vocabulary of most of these texts far beyond the word range of most of the bilinguals, but the subject matter, as well, often is based upon types of family relationships, recreational activities and situations in daily life quite unfamiliar to the Spanish-speaking student.

Common sense solutions to all these problems are so self-evident that it is an almost idle exercise to enumerate them:

1. The fact that English is a *foreign language* for a large proportion of school children in our Southwest must be frankly recognized, and adequate specialized *instruction in English as a foreign language* must be built into the elementary school curricula in this part of the United States.
   a. Token service to this concept in the form of summer preschool English courses will not meet the need; a rational program, continuing through the sixth grade, should be initiated.
   b. In order to prevent Spanish-speaking children from falling behind their English-speaking counterparts during the extended period in which they are mastering English, some basic subject matter classes *taught in Spanish* should be provided for them. Hours devoted to such classes might be progressively reduced as the pupil's knowledge of English improved over a six year period.

c. To reduce "double illiteracy" on the part of bilinguals, and to enhance the latter's command of their native Spanish, Latin American children should be given instruction, as native speakers, in reading and writing Spanish.

2. Teachers especially trained to conduct programs such as those sketched above should be made available to Southwestern school systems. If necessary, suitable NDEA or M.A. programs should be instituted for the preparation of such specialists. Some of the essential features of their training should be:

a. a fluent and literate command of Spanish;
b. training in applied linguistics (with special emphasis on the comparative study of English and Spanish structure);
c. training in effective methodology of the teaching of English as a foreign language to children;
d. a basic grasp of the structures and values of both the Anglo-American and the Latin American cultures.

3. Suitable materials for the instruction of our bilinguals should be compiled and published for use in schools. Such material should:

a. be specifically constructed in accordance with the social and linguistic needs of the Latin American bilingual;
b. include texts for the teaching of
   (i) English as a foreign language;
   (ii) literacy in Spanish, with emphasis on some of the great achievements of the Hispanic peoples;
   (iii) important subject matter (arithmetic, science, etc.) to be presented in Spanish to grades in which students have not yet acquired knowledge of English. Perhaps for more advanced grades, subject-texts could be prepared to help bridge the gap from Spanish to English during the transition period.
c. It is probable that some of the material prepared for "Operation Headstart" might be suitable for the proposed programs.

In conclusion, it should be recognized that a great first step has already been taken toward the solution of the special problems offered by the Southwestern Latin American pupil in the very fact that the barriers to his learning are at long last being faced frankly and realistically, instead of being "swept under the rug" as in the past. Too, it appears likely that today the public would display a more receptive attitude toward needed reforms than it has in times past.

Our Bilinguals: Social and Psychological Barriers

by JAMES BURTON

The term "our bilinguals" is limited to the Spanish-speaking populace of the Southwest.

1. MAJOR LINGUISTIC BARRIERS:

Inability to understand and communicate in the language of instruction. (Inability to cmmunicate is, of course, a universal tragic problem.)

Language of instruction is often regarded as an essentially alien tongue.

Linguistic deficiency inevitably promotes insecurity, unease, a feeling of inferiority, etc.

2. a. HOME HANDICAPS:

The home environment largely determines a student's attitude toward English. In a home where English is never spoken or used to a limited degree only the student conforms to the family pattern. Obviously practice is one the basic factors in mastering a language, and the student deprived in such a home of an opportunity to do so inevitably develops language problems. Probably a large percent of the parents in such homes, if they ever stop to consider the matter, regard the learning of English as the responsbility of the school. For varied and often contradictory reasons they are inclined to regard English as outside their province. A student's increasing fluency in English may be either a source of pride to the parents or a cause for resentment. The linguistic differences that develop between generations are likely indications of the other differences not so overtly evident.

The degree to which English is normally used in the home obviously determines the student's use of the language and his attitude toward its use.

2. b. SPECIFIC LANGUAGE PROBLEMS.

The student with a language deficiency constantly finds his problem aggravated and further complicated by the rather loose policy too often followed as a matter of administrative decree of automatically passing him to the next grade or course. Tragically enough, many students (particularly in high school) reach a sort of language plateau from which they are disinclined to advance. Passing him from one grade to another and presumably advancing him up the educational ladder does not mean that his linguistic achievement is correspondingly increasing. The further he goes the more the student is unpleasantly reminded of his deficiency: in reading, writing, vocabulary, spelling, oral comprehension, composition, etc.

The linguistic environment of the school largely determines a student's linguistic proficiency. He either speaks English because it is the normal thing to do or Spanish for the same reason. If he elects to speak English in a school where the majority use Spanish, it takes a strength of will few possess. Speaking a language is, after all, very like dying; every person must finally do it for himself. The anguish of

decision — even indecision — is very real here.

The student may easily experience the frustration of knowing the answer or the facts involved and still not have the language skill to express himself either orally or in writing. Under such circumstances he often chooses to remain silent or say "I don't know" until this becomes a fixed habit from which it is almost impossible to budge him.

3. a. SCHOOL POLICIES:

I confess total ingnorance of any criteria for placement based on linguistic capacity or need. The general policy seems to be placement as indicated by the student's written record which obviously never records his language proficiency. Fortunately the high school students show a strong tendency to place themselves in this regard. Those with little language problems elect to be in classes with their linguistic peers; the reverse is equally true.

There is certainly a linguistic aspect in the reaction a student gives to the enforcement of school regulations. This is obvious with regard to the regulation demanding the speaking of English. Obviously it is impossible to make a person speak a language. Any teacher in control of his classroom can prevent his students from speaking Spanish, but the result is likely to be a thundering silence; it is certainly no guarantee that fluent, idiomatic English will gush forth like the water from the biblical rock. Arrogance or even thoughtlessness in enforcing such a regulation is easily self-defeating. If the student is somehow left with the feeling that the person doing the enforcing is belittling him in an alien language for his normal use of his own language, bitter resentment is sure to ensue. Punitive measures in this case are only too likely to prove ineffectual under most circumstances. After all, few students speak Spanish as a deliberate act of defiance.

I personally deplore the so-called "Speak English" campaigns. They serve no valid purpose for the student inclined to speak English and they are far more likely to produce a digging in on the part of those prepared to resist the use of English. Even the most casual observer can see how smugly campaign posters are ignored, and too often they bring into play that sardonic chicano sense of humor with devastating results.

The failure to be tactful and gracious in the enforcement of regulations involving fees and cash outlays can easily result in an unfavorable response on the part of the student. This would not of necessity be limited to our bilinguals, but in their particular case it could cause them to harden their attitude toward the use of the language which they may feel is being used to contribute to their unease and embarrassment.

3. b. INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS:

There is a recognized dearth of such materials. Except where conscientious individual teachers have worked out adequate materials on their own or where school systems have put out work books designed for the bilingual, most instructional materials are chosen with a calloused disregard for the bilingual or his needs. This is true even in such courses as Spanish.

In this respect it would seem apropos to comment on the curriculum

itself. It is unrealistic to set up the same courses of study for all schools in a system in which each school has its clearly identifiable language levels and problems. From the liguistic point of view it seems unrealistic to expect a supervisor to be adequately prepared to handle all the schools assigned to him (with their varying language levels) unless he is blessed with omniscience with perhaps a strong dash of prescience added for real flavor. It is also sadly true that any attempt to set up different courses of study for our essentially segregated schools would likely result in wide howls of discrimination, denying, downgrading, and injustice.

But the problem is there.

3. c. DESIRABLE QUALITIES IN A TEACHER:

1. Above all be *simpático.*
2. At least a working knowledge of Spanish since this will help explain a student's linguistic problems in such areas as structure, spelling, vocabulary, literal translations, etc.
3. Knowledge and appreciation of the environment in which the student lives, the many aspects of his problems in addition to his linguistic one, etc.
4. Awareness of the student's language problem as a hard core fact and equal awareness that the use of Spanish is normal — seldom defiant.
5. Awareness that the chicano sense of humor often departs from the gabacho pattern.
6. Appreciation of the touchy pride of the chicano and his deeply ingrained sense of honor.
7. A basic knowledge of linguistics. It is not enough for a teacher to remind a student of his accent or to call his attention to a mispronunciation or error in stress. The ability to pinpoint the mistake and show how it can be overcome is highly desirable.
8. Willingness to experiment and the realization that the teacher alone finally must be the judge of what works in his classroom.
9. A pleasant voice and a command of the instructional language that reflects grace and elegance without affectation.
10. The deep appreciation that the linguistic handicap is a very real one which often makes itself felt in areas not directly connected with communication.

3. d. UNDESIRABLE FACTORS IN THE TEACHER:

1. Antagonistic approach and manner which too thinly mask the prejudice the teacher would vehemently deny.
2. Either the bland or acidulous attitude that assignment to a bilingual school is a form of slumming.
3. The attitude that assignment to a bilingual school is more a sentence or an exile than an assignment.
4. The "what-the-hell" attitude identifiable by such remarks as: "What can you expect from a bunch of Mexicans?", "Pass 'em all. What difference does it make?", "They'll never talk English anyway and they'll always have an accent.", "I'm lucky — never any parent problems."

5. The militant "professional chicano" teacher's conviction that he must indoctrinate whether he teaches or not. This is evident in his constant glorification of *la raza,* the incessant harping on discrimination *per se* with never a suggestion as to how the situation might be remedied and with the reiterated assurance that it is strictly a one sided matter, the seeming determination to intimidate the student into believing that he is destined forever to remain a pariah because of his physical appearance, Spanish name, ancestry, etc.

6. An accent in English that perpetuates the accent in the student. The student with excellent English is often either amused by such an accent or annoyed by it.

7. The habit of reverting to Spanish in school situations other than for purposes of instruction both to students and other bilingual teachers. While it is certainly not limited to coaches and playground teachers, such personnel do follow this tactic often.

8. The tendency at times to be domineering and to remind the student of the gap between the *patrón* and the *peón.*

4. a. LINGUISTIC PRESSURES:

The linguistic pressures are likely as endless as they are varied in form and method.

It is certainly true that a vast percent of our bilinguals go to school in what is essentially an alien language and live in the warmth of what is essentially a mother tongue. An astounding percent of our bilinguals actually live in some ill defined half word which is neither Mexican nor American. Despite our proximity to the border the majority of our native born Mexican-Americans know little or nothing about Mexico, have scant knowledge of its culture, and have only the vaguest notion of the heritage to which the *viejos* cling. The student all too often lives a segregated existence, attends a *de facto* segregated school, and, despite his American birth and education (or what passes for it), remains remote and aloof from the main stream of the dominant cultural social life by which he is hemmed in. The chicano herd instinct is strong and few enough depart from that protective coloration. If the chicano does break away, he may find himself to a considerable extent ostracised by his ethnic clan and have no assurance that there is a place waiting for him elsewhere.

Essentially this is a matter which the individual works out for himself since each ultimately, linguistically or otherwise, finds his own path to salvation.

The factor of student pressure from his peers depends on the school milieu. They may either approve or jeer — all too often the latter. Most bilinguals admire and, even though they may deny it, envy the fluent use of English. In a school situation students can display a brutal ability to put down the student who tends to speak English. Conformity is a teenage characteristic, and linguistic conformity is no exception to this rule.

Family pressures depend on the home the bilingual comes from and are conditioned by such factors as perspective, point of view, sense of values, linguistic situation, economic status, etc. Many families reprimand severely when English is spoken; others openly encourage the

practice. Many of the *viejos — padres, abuelos, parientes, compadres,* etc. — understand and speak little or no English or else handle it hesitantly and resent it as an alien influece in the home. The tendency to hold tenaciously to *mexicanidad* in the home is often so firmly fixed that the student has no choice except to conform. Vicious conflicts often rage between parent and parent, parents and grandparents, or parents and peers over the language a child learns, and custom and tradition and submission to parental fiat (pressure, if you prefer) often prevail over the parent's determination to send his child to school with an effortless English. It is a sad commentary on our linguistic situation that many parents can be so pressured that they sometimes act apologetic about their child's fluent, idiomatic English because they have allowed themselves to be reduced to feeling that their child's linguistic prowess in English is no compensation for the stigma of his lack of Spanish. The ideal situation would be for the child to be equally proficient in both languages, but in actual practice the child often displays a marked accent in one (usually English) or both. The complexes that have been saddled on the bilingual through such linguistic battles are myriad.

Many parents, themselves fluent in English, for endless contradictory reasons speak only Spanish to their chilren, usually as a result of some of the pressures cited. On the other hand it is a sad truth that many parents speak a limited, heavily accented English and either cannot teach a child to speak English or else bequeath to him the misbegotten legacy of their own linguistic defects. The tendency of bilinguals to huddle together creates enclaves that result in *de facto* segregated schools, and in such an area community pressure almost always forces the use of the identifying language as the hallmark of the *latino*. Poorly educated parents often have no more than a vague comprehension of the economic importance of English or even its necessity — notably in a school environment. Because many parents suffer economically from their own linguistic deficiencies, they often hand down the bitter heritage of their own unanalyzed and little understood frustrations and resentments.

With few exceptions all his contacts with school personnel pressure the student to use English. How he responds to this pressure depends entirely on how the pressure is applied or how he reacts personally to the person who is pressuring him. Under normal circumstances the bilingual teacher or coach who speaks Spanish to the student and encourages the student to speak Spanish in return is likely doing the student a disfavor since it does nothing to promote his linguitic ability and can easily confuse him in his attitudes.

In his social, economic, and other contacts outside his immediate group the student's linguistic capacity largely conditions his responses and reactions. If he gets a job where most of the employees speak Spanish as a matter of course or where few demands are made on his limited English, he can shelve the whole matter and forget its existence. This is a form of pressure, even if a negative one. If the job calls for more English than his own estimate of his capacity tells him he possesses, he faces that dilema so well established now as to be almost an expected pattern.

If he runs true to form, the bilingual student restricts his contacts almost solely to his own ethnic and language group. Whatever element of xenophobia is here displayed is basically linguistically inspired. Even if there is no sure way to determine, it is logical to assume that a large measure of the student's reluctance to establish contacts outside his ethnic group has a linguistic origin.

In summation, as far as pressures are concerned, the student is likely to be damned if he does and be damned if he doesn't. Here, again, the individual is faced with the choice that he alone can make.

4. b. SELF IMAGE:

It seems likely that our bilingual often has the very real problem of trying to decide what he is and where he actually belongs. In most cases the Mexican-American, particularly in the Southwest and notably in Texas, disdains being called a Mexican. Yet he too often shows that he wants no part of the world outside his ethnic group. He is proud of his American birth, yet he often seems uncertain how to cash in on his birthright. If he reflects on his self image at all, it must be akin to viewing oneself in a flawed mirror where a distorted reflection is inevitable.

In interschool conferences or meetings most bilinguals participate gingerly at best, and this reluctance is certainly to a marked degree related to their linguistic capacity. In such situations the bilinguals inevitably gravitate together. Perhaps the student views himself as present but not actually in.

The number of students with Spanish names (and fortunately the list grows steadily) who enters the literary forensic events of such organizations as the Texas Interscholastic League is limited — again largely because of linguistic deficiencies.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Selective screening and placement of college bound students and others of high motivation in classes designed to meet their linguistic needs.

2. More selective consideration of the teachers assigned to the bilingual school. The policy of assigning the bilingual teacher to the bilingual school is too often based on expediency rather than the feeling that he honestly belongs there. It should surely be evident that the bilingual teacher does not of necessity possess divine endowment that fits him to deal with the bilingual student. It should be equally evident that the non-Spanish speaking teacher is not by nature equipped to teach our bilinguals merely because he meets the minimum certification requirements.

3. A more realistic appraisal of the needs of our bilinguals in terms of what their future economic requirements will be and adapting the curriculum to meet these crying needs.

4. Recognition that in a *de facto* segregated school the whole education process needs reviewing and evaluating with an eye to changes that can be made to promote the bilinguals' future welfare.

5. More teachers across the board with a background in linguistics.

Our Bilinguals: Linguistic and Pedagogical Barriers

by CHARLES OLSTAD *

1. a. Limited areas or limited variety of language experience in Spanish are often handicaps to bilinguals. They may know only a colloquial Spanish used in the kitchen, or with the grandparents. They often have *no* experience with written Spanish. Usually no school experience with Spanish before 9th or 10th grade, occasionally not until college. They are likely to know only the colloquial of their area. If there is Spanish radio or TV it may also be only the local colloquial Mexican movies may be their only contact with other varieties of Spanish. They may know nothing of, for example Mexico City Spanish, or highly literate or technical Spanish.

b. Thus, if they try to function in Spanish in new situations, they often are forced to improvise or invent, with unsatisfactory results.

c. In the classroom situation, if the teacher is not properly aware of the significant differences between the local colloquial and standard text book Spanish, he cannot appreciate the problems of the bilingual learning Spanish as a second dialect or quasi-foreign language.

2. a. The "linguistic handicap" of the home varies, depending, of course, on the home. The situation is similar to that of the English speaking pupil who comes from a home where English is substandard or severely limited. The fact that the pupil's home language is a colloquial Spanish may be only one additional handicap, no more important than other cultural handicaps. Just as it is necessary to distinguish, for example, between the culturally different and the culturally deprived pupil, so it is necessary to distinguish between the linguistically different and the linguistically deprived pupil. A case in point: a first grader of literate, school educated, Mexican immigrant parents 3 days in the U. S. is less handicapped than the first grader of illiterate migrant workers 3 generations in the U. S. Analogous comparisons can be made at all levels.

2. b. School language problems: The most severe problem faced by the Spanish speaking child has been, and may still be, that if he knows no English, he is then punished for using his *only* language, but he is *not* taught English. He is not allowed to strengthen his command of his first language (Spanish) which may become a liability to him rather than an asset; and he is not able to "pick up" English in a teaching situation designed for native speakers of English. Thus, success is structured out of his school program; failure becomes a way of life.

3. a. I know little concerning school policy on placing bilinguals. I know that often the Spanish speaking pupil is treated as retarded, or a slow learner, and that older immigrant children are sometimes simply dumped into the primary group. I trust that this practice is dying out.

b. Concerning school regulations, I will make only the observation made often before; if Spanish is forbidden in school, the child is deprived

* Prof. Olstad report is only a first draft. Pressure of time prevented us from waiting for the final form. In order not to lose his valuable comments, we reproduce the first draft below.

of a means of communicating *legally*. He is therefore forced to resort to subterfuge. I think of the boy who confessed, in a theme entitled "why I speak spanich," that "am sorry I catck [got caught] speack spanick" (Texas Foreign Language Association Bulletin, v (December, 1963).

3. b. I know of practically no special materials. I think there is one handbook, *Español para hispanos*. The need is not necessarily for special materials, but rather for attitudes and a new awareness on the part of all concerned: teachers and administrators, as well as pupils *and* their parents.

3. c. The teacher of bilinguals should be himself bilingual. Ideally he should handle both Engish and Spanish with cultured correctness, but he should also be familiar with the local colloquial. He should feel no shame for his own heritage, and no scorn for the Anglo monolingual. If the teacher is not himself a bilingual, he must certainly be thoroughly competent in Spanish as a learned language, but neither defensive nor hyper-corrective. Above all, he must be familiar with the local colloquial. He therefore can understand what is said to him in the language he professes to teach, and will avoid correcting what may actually be an acceptable substitute for the structure he has learned.

3. d. The teacher of Spanish to the Spanish speaker may be hampered by his own limited knowledge of Spanish; he may not recognize the "acceptability" of locally used forms; he may know only literary Castilian, for example, or Buenos Aires colloquial; he may disallow variants or substitutes; he may not accept certain apparent Anglicisms which are actually legitimate. He may also be hampered by a broader but rigid knowledge; he may have an arbitrary notion of correctness, that of the Academy, for example, which he will impose.

Likewise the teacher of English is often hampered by rigidity when teaching the Spanish speaker. I know one typical case where a young, enthusiastic and hyper-correct high school teacher who insisted to her foreign student that "hard" refers only to the physical quality of, say, iron, and never to difficulty. Such unnecessary rigidity can only undermine the confidence of the bilingual who thinks he has learned that "English is hard."

4. a. Depending on a number of factors, including the socio-economic level of the family, there may be pressures both for and against the use of Spanish. Madsen notes, in his study of the Mexican-American in south Texas, that some families scorn the son or daughter who "pressumes" to use English. At the other extreme is the case of a bilingual teacher who felt inadequate to speak Spanish at family gatherings, fearing ridicule of the older generation!

Phase II

Some suggested questions for discussion. *

1. Should the prohibition of speaking Spanish in the schools be abolished?

2. Should the reading, writing, and oral use of literary Spanish be taught at least half of the class hours in the primary grades?

3. When, in the teaching of English as a foreign language to chicanos, should reading and writing be introduced?

4. Should special placement procedures be provided for new Spanish speaking students enrolling in Spanish?

5. How can "models to be imitated" be presented to chicano students?

6. What type of materials and books are best adapted to teaching Spanish to native speakers?

7. What type of materials and books are best adapted to teaching English to Spanish speakers?

8. Should schools require an English language proficiency examination for graduation from grammar school, high school, and college?

9. Should all teachers of Spanish or English in bilingual schools be required to have training in basic linguistics with particular emphasis on the differences between Spanish and English?

10. How should colleges and universities prepare teachers to teach English as a foreign language and Spanish as a native language?

11. How can federal aid be best used in specific situations?

* Suggestions made by a committe appointed by the Board of Directors.

Program

REGISTRATION ..... 8:30-9:30 a.m.
Skyriders' Room — Coffee

EXHIBITS ..... 8:30-9:30 a.m.
Castellana Room

PHASE I ..... 9:30-11:30 a.m.
Skyriders' Room

MR. CHESTER C. CHRISTIAN, JR.
University of Texas, Chairman
THE HON. AL RAMIREZ, MAYOR
Edinburg, Texas
DR. W. R. GOODSON
Texas Education Agency
DR. CLARK KNOWLTON
Texas Western College
MR. HENRY W. PASCUAL
Department of Education
State of New Mexico

RECESS

EXHIBITS ..... 11:30-12:30 p.m.
Castellana Room

LUNCHEON ..... 12:30-2:00 p.m.
Skyriders' Room

DR. C. L. SONNICHSEN ..... Master of Ceremonies
Texas Western College

DR. THEODORE ANDERSSON . "Education for Bilingualism"
University of Texas

RECESS

EXHIBITS ..... 2:00-2:30 p.m.
Castellana Room

PHASE II ..... 2:30-4:30 p.m.
Skyriders' Room

DR. ROBERT LADO
Chairman
Georgetown University
MR. JAMES BURTON
El Paso Public Schools
DR. JOHN M. SHARP
Texas Western College
DR. BRUCE GAARDER
U. S. Office of Education
DR. CHARLES F. OLSTAD
University of Arizona